CHAPTER SEVEN

SECTIONAL STRIFE, 1820 TO1880

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

- ☐ Antebellum period, 1820 to 1861
- ☐ Civil War, 1861 to 1865
- ☐ Reconstruction, industrial expansion, and the Gilded Age, 1865 to 1900

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

- ☐ Canal, railroad, and coal industrial development revolutionizes technology during the 1820s.
- ☐ The Maryland assembly extends suffrage to Jewish men, 1826.
- ☐ Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland organizes the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the first passenger and freight railway in the United States, in 1827.
- ☐ Work begins on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 1828.
- ☐ The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal opens, 1829.
- ☐ Peter Cooper's steam engine, the *Tom Thumb*, makes its first trip from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills, 1830.
- ☐ The Maryland State Colonization Society to relocate freed slaves is formed, 1831. The same year, Nat Turner leads an unsuccessful slave revolt in Virginia.

- ☐ Edmund Ruffin's publication of an influential scientific report on the use of marl as a fertilizer increases efficiency of plantation agriculture,1832. The worldwide cholera epidemic strikes the region the same year.
- ☐ The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal is completed, 1837. The Great Panic of 1837 throws the nation's economy into depression.
- ☐ The nation's first iron hulled ship, the *DeRosset* built in Baltimore, is registered, 1839.
- ☐ Pennsylvania farmers begin growing cigar wrapper tobacco, 1840.
- ☐ The Tredegar Iron Works opens in Richmond, 1841.
- ☐ The nation's first telegraph line is erected between Baltimore and Washington, 1844. The anti-immigrant Know-Nothing party also is formed.
- ☐ The United States Naval Academy opens in Annapolis, 1845.
- ☐ Irish, German, and Polish immigrants begin to arrive in large numbers in 1848.
- ☐ Regional population exceeds 1.8 million, 1850.
- ☐ The Washington Aqueduct is constructed between 1853 and 1863.
- ☐ The Republican party is formed, 1855.
- ☐ The first steam powered fire engine is placed into service in Baltimore, 1858.
- ☐ Abolitionist John Brown leads an unsuccessful raid on Harper's Ferry to spark a slave rising, 1859.
- ☐ Virginia secedes from the Union and joins the Confederacy, 1861.
- ☐ Civil War is fought between the Union and the Confederacy between 1861 and 1865.
- ☐ Northwestern counties of Virginia secedes from the state to form the new federal state of West Virginia, 1862.

- ☐ The Battle of Antietam is fought on September 17, 1862. It is the bloodiest single day of the war.
- ☐ The pivotal Battle of Gettysburg is fought, July 1-3, 1863.
- ☐ Robert E. Lee surrender's the Army of Northern Virginia to U.S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9,1865; other Confederate surrenders soon end the Civil War. The 13th Amendment abolishes slavery.
- ☐ Era of Reconstruction, 1865 to 1877.
- ☐ Gallaudet College, the first institution of higher learning for the deaf, opens in Washington, 1866.
- ☐ Howard University, the nation's first African American college, opens in Washington, 1867.
- ☐ The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute is opened in Hampton, Virginia, 1868.
- ☐ The Economic Crash of 1873.
- ☐ The Johns Hopkins University opens in Baltimore, 1876.
- ☐ Striking railroad workers are violently suppressed by Maryland militia, 1877.

AN ECOLOGY OF PEOPLE AND PLACE

People

The mid-nineteenth century brought unprecedented transformations to all aspects of life in the region. Coal, steel, and steam fueled industrial expansion, binding the Chesapeake region more firmly with the rest of the nation and the world. Scientific advances and religious revivals challenged people's views. New crops were introduced, and old plants were farmed in new ways.

Made more efficient by technological advances, slavery became vital to the economies of southern states. These same technological advances allowed northerners, strengthened by industrial growth, to ideologically and materially challenge southern attempts to extend and expand the slave system.

The struggle over slavery and states' rights was fueled by differing economic systems and contending concepts of race, class, work, and ethnicity. This struggle began during a constitutional crisis over the issue of rights - both of states and of individuals - and continued through civil war and into reconstruction. In the Chesapeake Bay region, north-south tensions eclipsed earlier differences between the coastal plain and Piedmont.

The Chesapeake region stood astride the invisible line that split the nation into north and south at the beginning of this era. Yet differences between the sections never became total or clear cut. The nation's north and south sections spoke the same language, followed the same forms of worship, relied on the same technologies, and looked back on similar cultural heritages and histories. To an outsider, their differences must have seemed more like variations of style than irreconcilable differences that could only be resolved by violence.

These complex, subtle differences were reflected in the lack of definite boundaries between the sections. Although slavery only existed north of the Mason-Dixon line – the boundary line separating Pennsylvania and Maryland – neither this line nor the Potomac River boundary between Maryland and Virginia stopped interaction between the states. The industrial life dominating the banks of Baltimore Bay and parts of the lower Susquehanna and Potomac Rivers began developing in the region's more southerly parts, such as Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk. And tobacco, traditionally associated with the South, became a major cash crop along

the lower Susquehanna in York and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania. So when civil war finally came, the region did not simply split along state boundaries. For example, in 1862, counties in northwestern Virginia counties seceded from Virginia and joined the Union, becoming the new state of West Virginia. And though many who lived in Maryland's southern counties fought for the Confederate cause, slave state Maryland stayed in the Union throughout the war.

Of course tension existed between those wishing to secede from the Union and those in favor of staying put. This tension affected every aspect of life in the Chesapeake. Interestingly, an explosion of federal, state, and privately funded construction of turnpikes, canals, and railroads was creating new links across the nation at this time, allowing more exchange among regions. The National Road, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and other transportation systems critical to the nation's development were first built during the early decades of this period. But these improvements also strengthened sectional solidarity. Trains capable of carrying produce and minerals to market, for example, both brought wealth to free labor employers in the Union and increased the profitability of southern plantations, mines, and furnaces, all of which used slave labor. Prosperity encouraged people to anticipate peaceful resolutions of sectional differences. Free labor advocates hoped that the successes of industrial development would show Southerners that slavery was not economically efficient and should be abandoned. Slave owners, for their part, used profits reaped in the fields to both purchase goods and open manufacturing enterprises of their own.

New immigrants also had to choose sides. Many of the Irish, German, and other immigrants – fleeing famine and unrest in Europe – landed in Chesapeake Bay ports such as Baltimore and Norfolk during the 1840s and 1850s. Their first challenge was to assimilate into an

American society increasingly hostile to them. These feelings crystallized in the formation of the anti-immigrant Know-Nothing party in 1844. Despite such opposition, immigrants managed to settle quietly throughout the region, where most eventually adopted the sectional sympathies of their new homes.

The ships bringing new immigrants made up only a small part of the Bay's quickly growing passenger and cargo traffic. Improvements in ship design increased the speed and range of wooden hulled Baltimore clippers, schooners, and other sailing vessels. Boats began using steam driven paddle wheels, first in addition to sails, and then instead of them. Metal ship hulls and screw propellers came into use more and more during the middle decades of the period. Wharves, docks, and warehouses along Chesapeake Bay waterfronts expanded to handle growing coastal and international trade.

Products from throughout the region were combined to fuel industrial development. Coal from upper Potomac and Susquehanna Valley mines fueled railroad engines; the trains carried cargo to new factories in and around Baltimore, Washington, and Richmond. These same trains brought iron ore to coal fired furnaces, which smelted the ore into iron and steel. In turn, these metals were used to manufacture rails, bridges, engines, machines, and finished goods. Ambitious capitalist entrepreneurs struggled to meet the transportation needs of rapidly expanding markets as demand for goods produced in Chesapeake Bay factories rose. Banks funded development, and they prospered or collapsed along with the volatile market economy.

The Chesapeake Bay region was splitting into a free labor market in the north and a slave labor economy farther south. Thus the question of the economic future preoccupied its people. White Southerners feared that slave rebellions might grow into a general insurrection. One led by

Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831 left sixty people dead in four days of violence. Fear widened sectional differences as slave states insisted on their right to avoid restrictions imposed by a growing free state majority. Feelings reached a flash point in 1859, after northern abolitionist John Brown made an attempt to spark a slave uprising with arms seized from the Harper's Ferry arsenal in the Virginia Piedmont.

The drive for sectional independence finally led to the Civil War in 1861. This war pitted Chesapeake Bay region people and states against one another on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. Pennsylvania remained steadfast for the Union. And the pro-slavery border states of Maryland and Delaware stayed loyal to the federal government, despite their many southern sympathizers. Virginia seceded and joined the southern Confederacy after former agriculturalist turned Confederate firebrand Edmund Ruffin led off the barrage of cannon fire from Charleston shore batteries that forced federal troops to surrender Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor and brought on Civil War.

Violence devastated the Chesapeake Bay region. The part that fell midway between the federal capital in Washington, D.C., and the Confederate capital in Richmond became the war's decisive theater. Armies pillaged farms, damaged railroads, and burned bridges everywhere they marched. They fought as far north as Carlisle, Pennsylvania, as far south as the Piedmont village of Appomattox Court House, and as far east as the outskirts of Baltimore. And they fought massive battles at coastal plain locales such as Manassas, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor. Farther inland in the Piedmont, armies periodically occupied Harper's Ferry and met in bloody struggles at Antietam, near Sharpsburg, Maryland, and most decisively at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Huge chains of forts surrounded Washington, D.C. These

forts can still be seen today, as can the great stone strongholds such as Fortress Monroe and the lines of earthwork trenches and bastions dug during sieges at Williamsburg, Richmond, and Petersburg. Hulks of ships sank while fighting for control over the strategically vital Chesapeake waterway, such as the C.S.S. Virginia, the U.S.S. Cumberland, and the U.S.S. Congress, still lie in muddy graves beneath Bay waters today.

It took four years of bloody fighting to reunite the nation politically, if not in other ways. The war proved disastrous for the South in many ways. The Northern blockade cut the South off from the rest of the world and gradually strangled production. Short of raw materials, in need of machine tools, and unpaid by fiscally strapped Confederate and state governments unable to pay their bills, Southern commerce declined catastrophically. By 1865, famine threatened people living in sections of the region under Confederate control.

The situation was much different in the North. Northern losses on the battlefields were horrible. On the home front, however, the war stimulated a new peak of industrial expansion. Profitable federal government contracts funded new transportation routes, improved harbor facilities, and stoked the furnaces of factories and finance. Even greater industrial growth in the North after the war helped restore many ravaged communities and helped bind the region's states into a firmer federal union.

At first, recovery was slow in Virginia. Small farmers and large landowners struggled to make livings on the land, public debt to pay for the war was crippling, and embezzlement and misappropriation of public school funds stymied educational development. By 1880, railroad expansions, infusions of capital, and new production techniques helped Virginia's industry and agriculture start to recover.

Baltimore and Washington were already major cities before the war, and they grew dramatically afterward. Many people from the countryside moved there, joining the growing ranks of European immigrants seeking work in factories and businesses as much American agriculture shifted west into the prairies and plains. Throughout the region, a mix of nationalities, races, religions, and ethnicities lived beside one another, not always happily. Immigrants struggled to find their places in Chesapeake society, dealing with both the intolerance of native born Americans and difficulties of cutting ties to the old country – and upholding its traditions.

African Americans, freed from slavery, worked with free blacks, other people of color, and sympathetic whites to secure voting rights, find work, fight discrimination, and establish schools. In 1867, a support organization known as the Freedman's Bureau opened Howard University in Washington, D.C. to train African American teacher's, lawyers, and business leaders. One year later, Virginia's Hampton Institute opened. But anti-black prejudice reasserted itself by the early 1870s, after being suppressed by federal military authority during the early years of Reconstruction. White voters enacted Black Codes, laws that severely restricted African American rights. New laws made it almost impossible for colored people to vote. Black people were barred from public life and forced to conform to strict segregation laws.

For the poor, finding work and a place to live were major challenges. In the countryside, poor people of all races worked fields as sharecroppers or rented them as tenant farmers. Black people employed as servants to middle and upper class families were often given quarters in the houses where they worked. African Americans and new immigrants moving to smaller cities often took up lodgings in well kept, established neighborhoods, but those moving to larger cities often had to live in rundown ghettoes and to accept unskilled work. Though they struggled against

discrimination, African Americans and new immigrants established churches, benevolent societies, and educational institutions throughout the region to improve conditions for their people throughout the region.

Place

The period's profound changes radically transformed Chesapeake Bay environments. Most of the region's remaining old growth forests were cut down. Farmers cleared from forty to fifty percent of the land for planting fields. Wheat began to supplant corn and tobacco as the major cash crop. In the Susquehanna Piedmont in the 1840s, growers began naturalizing a variety of tobacco from Cuba that could tolerate the cold. Rechristened Pennsylvania seedleaf tobacco, it became the favored outer wrapping for American cigars by the 1850s.

Wood remained the region's primary source of heat, light, and building material until the 1860s. Growing cities and rural towns required huge amounts of milled timber for building construction and maintenance. Innumerable cords of firewood were needed for heat as the Little Ice-Age winds made winters bitter cold. Farther inland, charcoal fueled Piedmont furnaces, foundries, and factories. Since it took twenty to thirty thousand acres of woodland to produce enough charcoal to smelt a thousand tons of iron, charcoal producers consumed entire forests. Woodlots on land that could not be used for farming provided wood for all of these domestic and industrial purposes.

Landscapes in and around Chesapeake Bay cities were transformed as never before. Complexes of stores and municipal buildings rose in city centers. Residential and industrial districts emerged in outlying areas. Brick, stone, iron, and steel replaced wood as the favored

building material in city and town centers. Horses drew carriages, wagons, and streetcars on city roads and rail lines. Great terminals were built to serve the steam railroads linking cities with the countryside. Coal fueled the railroads and began supplanting charcoal as the fuel of choice in city buildings and in factories. Production rose higher than ever in many established factories, such as the arsenal complex in Harper's Ferry first built in 1803. New rail construction linking Virginia with the rest of the nation stimulated the erection of the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond in 1841. Initially built to produce rails, engines, and rolling stock, the Tredegar works became one of the South's few munitions plants during the Civil War.

Baltimore and Washington city fathers were intent on securing adequate supplies of fresh water. So they created reservoirs by damming nearby Piedmont streams. Locally obtained brick, stone, wood, and metal were used to construct the pipelines and aqueducts that carried reservoir water to city water mains. New sewers were dug under city streets, pouring wastes and runoff into Chesapeake Bay.

Expanded agricultural, residential, and industrial development meant more soil erosion. In the interior, tailings of waste rock, cinders, and other residues from mines, quarries, and furnaces – mixed with soils eroded from logged lands – flowed into Piedmont rivers and streams. Soils eroded from agricultural fields washed millions of additional tons of topsoil into regional waterways across the coastal plain. Untreated sewage and other city wastes – pumped directly into harbor waters by coastal cities – further fouled Bay waters.

The region's plant and animal communities were affected by this pollution, as well as by new harvesting techniques. Offshore oyster beds, for example, were once so dense that they were regarded as navigational hazards. But they were decimated after better transportation networks

opened new markets for fresh, pickled, and spiced oysters in the 1830s. Searching for new supplies in deeper waters, Chesapeake Bay oystermen dredged up the huge quantities of oysters discovered in Tangier Sound in 1840. By 1845, coastal canneries had been built, and oystermen were hauling their catches there. Oysters were steamed in huge kettles, then packed into sealed bottles and cans that could preserve perishable contents. They were then sent in wooden crates by ship and rail throughout the region and the nation.

The oyster industry became big business. Baltimore canneries alone processed 1.6 million bushels (a bushel represents the rough equivalent of eight gallons) in 1857, four million bushels in 1865, and ten million bushels in 1868. Overall, Maryland oystermen took approximately 400 million bushels of oysters from Chesapeake Bay waters between 1836 and 1890. Oystermen ripped up the seabed with metal rakes and dredges, taking all oysters, regardless of age and condition. But oysters were not in endless supply. Sickened by pollution and devastated by crude harvesting techniques, Chesapeake Bay oyster breeding stocks were severely threatened by 1880.

The Bay's blue crab communities began to be exploited as well, after rail line expansion and the invention of the refrigerator car in the 1870s made it possible to ship blue crabs to cities. Market demand for hard shelled crabs caught by trotlines, long lengths of line baited with chunks of eel sunk in open Bay waters, emerged soon after.

Market demand also drastically reduced waterfowl populations. One commercial hunter reported that he had shot 7,000 canvasback ducks during the 1846-1847 hunting season. Market gunners commonly reported daily hauls of more than a hundred canvasbacks. Canvasback ducks were most frequently hunted along the west side of the upper bay, between the mouths of the Susquehanna and Patapsco Rivers. Market hunters frequently used giant, cannon-like, smooth

bored shotguns, which they mounted on swivels fixed to the sides of shallow draft vessels, such as sneakboats - low craft barely visible above the waves. Volleys of shot fired by a battery of such guns could kill thousands of birds at a time. Sport hunters often used the lifelike wooden decoys carved by Chesapeake Bay craftsmen to lure flights of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl into range. Farther inland, hunters shot huge numbers of passenger pigeons and other migratory birds. Hunters developed a special breed of dog, the Chesapeake Bay Retriever, to be particularly adept at bringing in birds under all weather conditions.

Accurate records of Chesapeake fish harvests were first kept during this period. The Maryland Fish Commission's comprehensive survey, List of Fish of Maryland, catalogued 202 different species in Chesapeake Bay in 1876. Only five of these were full time residents; the rest were migrants of one sort or another. The Bay was noted as the northernmost limit for twenty-seven species that were more commonly found farther south. And twelve northern species reached the southern limits of their ranges in the Bay region. Anadromous species spawning in freshwater such as American shad, alewives, and striped bass were heavily fished by Chesapeake Bay watermen. Farther inland, sport fishing grew popular.

On land as well, hunting had an ever greater impact on animal populations. Drastic declines occurred in the number of game animals such as white-tailed deer and black bear. In repeated attempts to protect the remaining populations, local governments defined and redefined legal bag limits and limited hunting seasons.

Peopling Places

Immigration, relocation from rural areas to Chesapeake Bay cities, and the great westward migration changed the region's demography dramatically between 1820 and 1880. Successive waves of European immigrants arrived at ports such as Baltimore, Washington, and Norfolk. Even more came on trains from Northern cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Many Swedes settled at the northern end of the Eastern Shore in the early 1840s. Germans, Czechs, and Poles – fleeing failed revolutions – came to Baltimore after 1848. And numerous Irish immigrants also arrived at this time, driven from their homes by famine brought on by potato blight.

Many new immigrants fought in both armies during the Civil War. And growing numbers of Italians, Russians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Jews, and Scandinavians came to the region in the decades after the war. They were joined by impoverished Southerners of all races seeking opportunities farther north.

Small numbers of Nanticoke, Powhatan, and other Native Americans continued to live in scattered rural enclaves. They were often unable to find spouses in their own communities because the communities had shrunk so much. As a result, many married non-Indians. Many children born to these families moved to the region's cities in search of employment in urban mills and factories. Many other rural inhabitants did the same. Most of these newcomers were poor and had to live in racially and ethnically segregated neighborhoods. Each of these neighborhoods developed its own places of worship, markets, clubs, and other institutions.

City services, already sparse in this period, were rarely available in neighborhoods occupied by new immigrants or native born African Americans. Blind to social distinctions, diseases such as malaria and yellow fever were spread by mosquitoes thriving in the warm, still waters of the Bay estuary. And ships from foreign ports carried lethal illnesses such as cholera. An epidemic of Cholera originating in India in 1826, slowly spread around the world, reaching the Chesapeake by 1832. Together, epidemics and contagious illnesses sickened and killed tens of thousands. Although city authorities did what they could to improve sanitation and provide clean water, their efforts did little to halt the spread of contagious diseases for much of the nineteenth century.

Creation of Social Institutions

Social life in the region expanded far beyond home and hearth between 1820 and 1880. Churches, taverns, shops, and inns remained centers of social interaction in rural communities. Publicly funded primary schools began opening in communities in Pennsylvania and Maryland in the late 1820s. Virginian communities started their own public school systems in the years after the Civil War. Much of the region's current educational infrastructure was in place by 1880. These schools came to be staffed by teachers who had attended colleges designed to train educators.

Higher education also expanded dramatically. The United States Naval Academy, for example, was founded in Annapolis in 1845. Federally funded land grant colleges – intended to stimulate growth in agriculture, industry, and engineering – opened in Maryland and Virginia in the 1860s and 1870s. Several private colleges were also established in and around Washington. One of these, Gallaudet College, which opened in 1866, was the first institution of higher learning

dedicated to educating deaf people. African American communities also opened schools of their own when almost all established institutions closed their doors to black students. These included the previously mentioned Howard University and Hampton Institute.

Other social services were expanded, and new facilities were built throughout the region. These included hospitals such as Baltimore's Pratt Hospital, water treatment facilities such as the Washington Aqueduct (built between 1853 and 1863), and homes for retired soldiers and seamen such as the U.S. Soldier's Home, built in Washington. Many were in rural locales, far from settlements. Others were built in or near city centers and county seats. At first, many of these institutions were housed in structures – wood-framed or masonry, in the Greek Revival style – that were believed to illustrate democratic values. The United States Naval Hospital in Portsmouth is one of the best known examples in the region. Another architectural style, an imposing one known as Egyptian Revival, was used to emphasize the solemn, scientific purpose of Richmond's Medical College of Virginia, the first institution of its kind in the South. Wood, brick, and stone masonry hauled from nearby quarries were also used to build both ornate Victorian Gothic Revival buildings, such as the James Monroe Tomb in Richmond (built in 1859), and Italianate structures, such as the Camden Plantation House in Port Royal, Virginia.

The Civil War had made large scale institutional health care necessary, and it also led to much subsequent construction in the region. Crippled or aged soldiers were cared for in veterans' homes. Orphanages, homes for widows, and poor farms opened to care for other victims of the war. Cities and counties built facilities to care for growing numbers of prison inmates, impoverished citizens, and mental patients. Sanitariums were opened to care for tuberculosis victims, whose numbers began to grow alarmingly towards the end of the period. This increase

occurred as crowded urban slums became breeding grounds for the disease. Libraries, museums, and historical societies sponsored by influential families began to open in larger cities and county seats. In the cities, new immigrants began benevolent societies and other support services. Reactionary groups that were intent on restricting the rights of immigrants and native born people of color also organized secretly throughout the region, including the Ku Klux Klan.

Expressing Cultural Values

Like other areas of the nation, Chesapeake Bay struggled to form a cultural identity between 1820 and 1880. New journals appeared, including Richmond's Southern Literary Messenger, providing places for cultural exchange. One of its editors, Edgar Allen Poe (1800-1849), spent much of his life moving between Richmond and Baltimore. Poe explored the darker depths of the romantic sentimentality that dominated the nation's popular culture of the period.

Sentimental minstrel performances also became popular at this time. They showcased banjo music played by white actors who had blackened their faces. Their minstrel shows presented a romantic view of Southern plantation life – a view of that world as it never was. Although the minstrel shows were made to appear as if they were drawn from African American life, their middle class sensibilities, polka-style beat, and homely lyrics were mostly the inventions of Northern songwriters such as Stephen Foster (1826-1864).

Other forms expressed the region's many cultures more accurately. These forms included starkly simple choral singing (the tune of one such song, Amazing Grace, is still widely known), camp meeting revival songs, call and response black spirituals, and European-style military marches.

People became more aware during these decades that historic sites could be used to support cultural messages. For example, a group of Know-Nothings calling themselves the American Party tried to build a monument to George Washington in the capital. This was clearly an attempt to use the first president as a symbol to support their anti-immigrant program. The Know-Nothings were not the only group to appreciate George Washington's symbolic significance. In the late 1850s, a national group of women formed to address the growing North-South tensions tearing at their country. Calling themselves the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, they purchased Washington's home on the Potomac, preserving it and making it a monument to America's common heritage.

Enthusiasm for classical Greek and Roman culture swept the region and the country in this period. This classical revival influenced architecture, the arts, and the names of new towns and cities (such as Arcadia, Maryland, and Palmyra, Virginia). The use of this Greco-Roman style had symbolic value, as the Greek and Roman empires were founded on democratic ideals that the United States intended to uphold. The movement also emphasized the European origins of American culture, ignoring or denigrating the cultural contributions of Africans and Native Americans. Such viewpoints were strengthened by a scientific view that emerged in this period. The view claimed that humans had evolved into higher forms over time, and that peoples considered by white Europeans and Americans as being more primitive – such as Africans and Native Americans – were biologically and culturally inferior.

Before the Civil War, Quakers, abolitionists, feminists, and other Northern social reformers struggled to put forward more egalitarian cultural agendas in the region. Criticizing social inequality and injustice, reformers supported the abolition of slavery, fought to extend

voting rights to all adult citizens, struggled against religious intolerance and anti-immigrant Know-Nothingism, and championed other causes. Although the rhetoric often ran hot, public support was lukewarm at best, as John Brown discovered to his sorrow at Harper's Ferry in 1859.

The dramatic postwar development in the North appeared to signal victories for the reformers, but it did not radically transform cultural values. Many Southerners in the Chesapeake and elsewhere rejected what was called the reform agenda. This agenda, calling for, among other things, full and immediate representation of African American voters in federal, state, and local governments, was put into action by politicians known as the Radical Republicans and their supporters. And those in power both north and south of the Potomac refused to give women the vote. Most native born Americans also continued to look with disdain on African Americans, Native Americans, and the latest waves of immigrants from Eastern European and Mediterranean countries.

Shaping the Political Landscape

Chesapeake Bay people struggled to balance state rights with federal authority throughout this period. They agreed that the national government should see to the nation's defense, but they debated whether or not to create national postal, banking, and transportation systems. The question of slavery brought these state versus federal issues to a head when the Civil War erupted in 1861. That political upheaval changed the region's entire political landscape, as every level of government mobilized every possible resource to support military operations. The Federal and Confederate governments built fortifications, raised armies, and formed elaborate networks to support the logistics of war. Trains, ships, canal boats, and other essential utilities were pressed

into war service. Military priorities determined what products factories and farms produced. And foraging soldiers seized livestock, confiscated food supplies, and burned fence rails for fuel wherever their armies marched.

The federal government funded reconstruction after the war, and it placed defeated Southern states under military law. Wartime forts and camps were maintained to train troops in the North and to house occupation forces in the South. Massive stone administration buildings rose up in Washington. Some, such as the General Post Office (completed in 1866), were built in the restrained neoclassical style. Others, such as the Old Executive Building (built between 1871 and 1888), were made in the ornate French Second Empire style, reflecting the triumph of the federal government. The impulse to build impressive edifices extended to city and county administrations, which also funded the construction of huge and elaborate administrative buildings, courthouses, halls of records, and prisons.

Developing the Chesapeake Economy

New coal driven technologies began to revolutionize the region's economic life in the 1820s and beyond. Maryland entrepreneurs, first excited by discoveries of hard coal anthracite seams to their north, found closer deposits in western parts of the state. Often supported by the federal and state governments, they organized new corporations to take advantage of new opportunities like railroads, steamship lines, and other coal powered technologies. Many of these corporations raised their development funds by selling stock and sponsoring lotteries. Larger enterprises were actually allowed to open banks and print their own currency.

Some corporations got both public and private funds. These included the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which extracted and conveyed coal, timber, and other raw materials to new factories, foundries, and furnaces in coastal plain cities and Piedmont mill towns. Other improvements, such as the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, forged closer links between Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, and other coastal cities. Fueled by coal, growing numbers of corporations began turning local sand, clay, and iron ore into glass, ceramics, bricks, pig iron, and steel. New houses and structures rose everywhere as a building boom gripped the region following the recovery from the Great Panic of 1837 (See below). Entrepreneurs organized new construction companies to meet demands from new industries and their ever-growing numbers of workers. Mills in coastal cities and Piedmont villages – such as Harper's Ferry, Lancaster, and Petersburg – worked glass, metal, and wood into finished tools, implements, and furnishings. Whatever could not be produced was imported into the region by trading companies operating in port cities such as Baltimore.

New roads, canals, and rail lines carried goods to cities, towns, and villages throughout the region. Railroads made it possible to develop isolated Piedmont towns such as Culpepper, Virginia – towns that lacked access to adequate roads or river routes. Established industries employed once-independent artisans to train and supervise workforces of new immigrants and rural countryfolk. These included ship building facilities and factories that mass produced precision goods, such as steam engine parts and rifled muskets. Those who stayed in the countryside raised farm production with new and more efficient plows, harrows, and other tools.

Most farmers stayed largely self sufficient in the first decades of this period. All continued to depend on horses, mules, and oxen to pull their plows and draw their wagons, but steam

railroads helped get their growing amounts of produce to markets. Advances in transportation also stimulated development of the Pennsylvania tobacco industry and encouraged the growth of large commercial orchards in Adams County, Pennsylvania, and other Chesapeake Piedmont communities, since tobacco and fruit producers could send their products to far off markets.

Both farms and factories grew dependent on industrial developments. Their owners borrowed money from regional banks to meet the growing costs of production and transportation. Private and public banks competed to offer these funds, and their dispute soon spilled over into divisive political conflict on the floors of statehouses throughout the region. As the fortunes of individuals rose and fell, the economy became more volatile. Periods of prosperity were followed by depressions. These falls were often sparked by fiscal disasters such as the Great Panic of 1837, which was set off by the failure of the Bank of Maryland and other financial institutions in and around the region.

Economic changes brought on by the Civil War started an era of unprecedented industrial expansion. Northern industries and financial institutions had been enriched by military contracts and took full advantage of the new purchasing power of workers in the booming labor market. But they grew even more prosperous, as the spending power of Northern consumers and western markets grew after the war. For their part, Southerners wishing to end their dependence on Northern manufacturers formed their own industries and financial institutions as they worked to rebuild economies shattered by the war. In tidewater areas, tobacco gave way to a more diversified agricultural economy. Many old plantations were broken up into smaller holdings. These were increasingly farmed by sharecropping renters, who gave up parts of their harvests to landowners.

Large corporations made their presence visible in the landscape during this period. Powerful corporations in the region built imposing, ornate structures that rivaled federal, state, and local government buildings. Corporate employers dominated life in smaller mining and mill towns, often running community banks, stores, and schools. Corporations needing skilled labor began encouraging educational improvements needed to create a literate, cooperative workforce. Literacy also fueled development. Printing presses turned out growing numbers of books and newspapers to meet the demands of newly literate consumers.

Toward the end of the period, industrial philanthropists also began funding the construction of libraries and museums in major cities and towns. Corporations purchased huge amounts of locally produced brick, stone, glass, timber, and cast iron to build stately office buildings in city centers and factory warehouse complexes near rail heads, terminals, and harbor wharves. Impressed by these grand structures, people flocked to work in them. Many found contentment within their walls. Others, influenced by the writings of progressive American and European social theorists, dreamed of better wages and working conditions.

But even so, northern organizers who came to the region to form unions had little success in most Chesapeake locales. They found a workforce afraid of unemployment; a group of established, powerful families more interested in getting richer than in distributing corporate wealth; and civil authorities who wanted things to stay as they were. Now and then a business crisis threatened to cause a storm in labor relations; one of these was the Economic Crash of 1873. This crash set off a five-year period of economic depression. But even so, the discontent and anger of workers in the region's factories and fields mostly stayed hidden – or was forced into hiding – between 1820 and 1880.

But worker unrest flared into violence on the open waters of the Bay when oystermen began fighting state authorities and each other for the shellfish they had to sell to survive. In struggles known as Oyster Wars, oystermen using tongs fought those using the far more destructive dredges, which had been outlawed in Maryland and Virginia. Dredges indiscriminately scraped up vast quantities of oysters regardless of age or condition in large scoops dragged from boats across wide swaths of Bay bottom. These confrontations erupted into gunfire. To end the violence, Maryland created what became known as the Oyster Navy in 1868. This navy worked to enforce anti-dredging laws and restore order. Although the Oyster Navy ended the fighting, it could do little to stop the over-harvesting and pollution that were quickly depleting the Bay's oyster beds.

Expanding Science and Technology

Major developments in science and technology fueled industrial expansion in the Chesapeake Bay region between 1820 and 1880. Native born mechanics and skilled European technicians adapted European innovations in metallurgy, steam technology, and textile manufacturing to fit local needs. Mechanics improved engine efficiency, increased the production capacities of industries, and used new transportation developments to create better vehicles. As noted above, faster and more efficient wooden sailing vessels were developed, and these were replaced eventually by wheel and propeller driven steamships with metal hulls. Engineers such as Charles Reeder, inventor of the crosshead engine, improved steam engines for ships dramatically. Locomotives were made larger and more powerful. Safer and more efficient metal railroad cars replaced their

wooden predecessors. Lighter, stronger, and more malleable metals also affected buildings, as they enabled architects to construct taller, larger, more ornate structures.

New information moved quickly through the region in technical articles, guidebooks, and other publications. Baltimore became a major information center, as it was strategically located on the banks of the region's roomiest deepwater harbor and at the heart of major transportation networks. Publications produced by its regional presses were gathered together in libraries, technological institutes, and college such as the Johns Hopkins University, a research center focusing upon postgraduate education. College graduates and self trained technicians opened or worked in the many laboratories and workshops created in and around the city.

Technological advances also increased agricultural production. As early as 1832, Virginian Edmund Ruffin showed how marl (a crumbly dirt rich in calcium carbonate) could provide a cheap, easily obtainable fertilizer for fields that had been depleted by intensive tobacco, corn, and wheat cultivation. Farmers also began using new genetic theories to breed more fertile and disease resistant plants and animals. Graduates of land grant colleges introduced other useful techniques, including crop rotation methods and tilling techniques that guarded against erosion. The results – greater farm yields – were carried to regional towns and cities along rail lines. And new refrigeration and canning techniques encouraged exports of farm products to other American and foreign markets.

Transforming the Environment

The many factors described above – industrialization, urban growth, shifts in agricultural production, and transportation improvements – radically transformed Chesapeake Bay environments in this period. While the marching armies of the Civil War did affect the environment negatively – through water pollution, deforestation, and more – these problems were quickly remedied by determined efforts of concerned individuals and local communities. But postwar development posed more serious problems. Eroded soil sediments, human and animal wastes, and industrial wastes polluted Chesapeake Bay waterways as never before. And vast clouds of wood and coal smoke billowed from factory smokestacks and the chimneys of residences and office buildings. This pollution blotted the skies above Chesapeake Bay towns and cities. Intensive use of particular resources caused the clear cutting of old growth forests, the killing of entire species, and the altering of ecosystems. As mentioned, hunting and harvesting even threatened the future of the Bay's duck and oyster populations.

Changing Role of the Chesapeake in the World Community

During this period, wharves, warehouses, and immigrant communities rose along the shores of Norfolk, Alexandria, Baltimore, and other Chesapeake Bay ports. This growth took the region from an isolated agricultural enclave to a cosmopolitan center of industry. Propellers replaced sails, and schooners, clipper ships, and steam transports brought in imports from Europe and Asia. Chesapeake Bay shipyards also produced more and more warships that could project American power far from its shores. American determination to turn back potential foreign invaders also motivated the placement of cannon barrels in the walls of stone fortresses on the region's shores.

Washington and Baltimore grew into international cities as new immigrants and foreign delegations moved in. More and more immigrants gathered in ethnic neighborhoods with distinctive churches, shops, signs, and eateries offering inexpensive prepared old world meals to unmarried male newcomers. Farther inland, new immigrants found work in Piedmont mills, mines, and factories.

KEY LOCALES

National Historic Landmarks

District of Columbia

American Peace Society [1860s]
Army Medical Museum and Library [1867]
Arts and Industries Building, Smithsonian Institution [1881]
Ashburton House [ca. 1836]
Blair-Lee House [1827]
Blanche K. Bruce House [1865]
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace [1860]
City Hall [1820-1849]
Gallaudet College [1866]
General Post Office [1839-1866]
Georgetown Historic District [eighteenth-nineteenth centuries]
Charlotte Forten Grimke House [1880]
General Oliver Otis Howard House [1869]
Lafayette Square Historic District [eighteenth-twentieth centuries]
Old Naval Observatory [1844]
Old Patent Office [1840]
Renwick Gallery [1860]
Zalmon Richards House [mid-nineteenth century]
Saint Luke's Episcopal Church [1879]
Smithsonian Institution Building [1855]
Old Executive Office Building [1871-1888]
Oscar W. Underwood House [nineteenth century]
United States Capitol [1819-1865]
U.S. Department of the Treasury [1836-1862]
U.S. Soldiers Home [1851]
Washington Aqueduct [1853-1863]

Washington Navy Yard [1800-1910]

Maryland

Baltimore and Ohio Transportation Museum and Mount Clare Station [1830], Baltimore City
Carrolltown Viaduct [1829], Baltimore City
Ellicott City Station [1831], Howard County
Minor Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary [1806-1863], Baltimore City
Monocacy Battlefield [1864], Frederick County
Mount Vernon Place Historic District [nineteenth century], Baltimore City
Old Pump House, Chesapeake and Delaware Canal [1837], Cecil County
Phoenix Shot Tower [1828], Baltimore City
Edgar Allen Poe House [1833-1835], Baltimore City
Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital and Gate House [1862-1891], Baltimore City
Thomas Viaduct, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad [1835], Baltimore City
United States Naval Academy [1845], Anne Arundel County

Pennsylvania

James Buchanan House [1828], Lancaster County
Fulton Opera House [1852], Lancaster County

Virginia

Alexandria Historic District [mid-eighteenth century-ca. 1861], Alexandria City
Ball's Bluff Battlefield and National Cemetery [1861 and 1865], Loudon County
Berry Hill [ca. 1839], Halifax County
Camden [1859], Caroline County
Drydock No. 1 [1827-1834], Portsmouth City
Egyptian Building [1845], Richmond City
The Exchange [1841], Petersburg City
Five Forks Battlefield [1865], Dinwiddie County
Fort Monroe [1819-1834], Hampton City
Franklin and Armfield Office [1828-1836], Alexandria City
Ellen Glasgow House [1841], Richmond City
Green Springs Historic District [eighteenth-nineteenth centuries], Louisa County
Hampton Institute [1868], Hampton City
Jackson Ward Historic District [nineteenth-twentieth centuries], Richmond City
Marlbourne, Edmund Ruffin Plantation [1843], Hanover County
General William "Billy" Mitchell House [1826, 1925], Loudon and Fauquier Counties
James Monroe Tomb [1859], Richmond City
Oak Hill, James Monroe House [1820-1823], Loudon County
Pittsylvania County Courthouse [1853], Pittsylvania County
Potomac Canal Historic District [1786-1830], Fairfax County

Rotunda, University of Virginia [1822-1826, 1898], Charlottesville City
Sayler's Creek Battlefield [1865], Amelia and Prince Edward Counties
Tredegar Iron Works [1841], Richmond City
John Tyler House [1780, 1842], Charles City County
University of Virginia Historic District [nineteenth-twentieth centuries],\
Charlottesville City
Waterford Historic District [eighteenth-nineteenth centuries], Loudon County
White House of the Confederacy, Dr. John Brockenbrough House [1818, 1861-1865], Richmond City

FURTHER INFORMATION

Books and Articles

These works are foremost among the many sources containing useful information surveying this period in Chesapeake Bay history:

Carol Ashe, *Four Hundred Years of Virginia, 1584-1984: An Anthology* (1985).
Carl Bode, *Maryland: A Bicentennial History* (1978).
Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans* (1973).
Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (1988).
Suzanne Chapelle, et al., *Maryland: A History of Its People* (1986).
Federal Writers' Program, *Maryland: A Guide to the Old Line State* (1940a).
-----, *Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion* (1940b).
Frederick A. Gutheim, *The Potomac* (1968).
Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (1975).
Alice Jane Lippson, *The Chesapeake Bay in Maryland* (1973).
Paul Metcalf, editor, *Waters of Potowmack* (1982).
Lucien Niemeyer and Eugene L. Meyer, *Chesapeake Country* (1990).
Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., *Maryland: A New Guide to the Old Line State* (1979).
Morris L. Radoff, *The Old Line State: A History of Maryland* (1971).
Emily J. Salmon, editor, *A Hornbook of Virginia History* (1983).
Mame and Marion E. Warren, *Maryland: Time Exposures, 1840-1940* (1984).
John R. Wennersten, *Maryland's Eastern Shore: A Journey in Time and Place* (1992).

Major environmental studies include the following:

William C. Schroeder and Samuel F. Hillebrand, *Fishes of Chesapeake Bay* (1972).
James P. Thomas, editor, *Chesapeake* (1986).
P. R. Uhler and Otto Lugger, *List of Fish of Maryland* (1876).
David A. Zegers, editor, *At the Crossroads: A Natural History of Southcentral Pennsylvania* (1994).

These useful atlases and geographic surveys graphically depict large scale patterns of development in the Chesapeake Bay's cultural landscape in the period:

Michael Conzen, editor, *The Making of the American Landscape* (1990).
David J. Cuff, et al., *The Atlas of Pennsylvania* (1989).
James E. DiLisio, *Maryland, A Geography* (1983).
D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America* (Vol. 2, 1986).
Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., *The Hammond-Harwood House Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608-1908* (1982).
John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845* (1982).
Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *The Settling of North America* (1995).
Derek Thompson, et al., *Atlas of Maryland* (1977).
Kent T. Zachary, *Cultural Landscapes of the Potomac* (1995).

Small scale community studies include this one:

Jack Temple Kirby, *Poquosson* (1986).

Biographical accounts providing insights into individual lives include the following:

Frank A. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752-1839* (1971).
Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1962).
Eugene S. Ferguson, *Oliver Evans, The Inventive Genius of the American Industrial Revolution* (1980).
Dickson J. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass: The Maryland Years* (1980).

Cultural life of the period is examined in this work:

Esther Wanning, *Maryland: Art of the State* (1998).

The many studies surveying key aspects of social life of the period include these:

Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (1943).
Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs* (1996).
Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (1948).
Bianca P. Floyd, *Records and Reflections: Early Black History in Prince George's County, Maryland* (1989).
Mary Forsht-Tucker, et al., *Association and Community Histories of Prince George's County* (1996).
Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier* (1989).
Suzanne Lebsock, *Virginia Women, 1600-1945* (1987).
Roland C. McConnell, *Three Hundred and Fifty Years* (1985).
Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (1975).
Stephen B. Oates, *The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion* (1990).
Susan G. Pearl, *Prince George's County African-American Heritage Surve*y (1996).
Vera F. Rollo, *The Black Experience in Maryland* (1980).
Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People* (1990).
Bruce G. Trigger, editor, *Northeast* (Vol. 15, Handbook of North American Indians, (1978).
Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., *Maryland: A New Guide to the Old Line State* (1979).
Wilcomb E. Washburn, editor, *History of Indian-White Relations* (Vol. 4, Handbook of North American Indians, 1988).
James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860* (1921).

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Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone* (1998).
----- and Philip Morgan, editors, *The Slave's Economy* (1991).
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Barbara J. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* (1985).
Ronald Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves* (1979).
Philip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint* (1997).
Michael Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves* (1989).
T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom* (1997).
William H. Williams, *Slavery and Freedom in Delaware, 1639-1865* (1996).
Carol Wilson, *Freedom at Risk* (1994).
Gilbert L. Wilson, *An Introduction into the History of Slavery in Prince George's County* (1991).

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Donald G. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism* (1965).
Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion* (1978).

Useful insights into period political life may be found in the following:

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-----, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know Nothing Party in Maryland* (1977).
William A. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (1974).
Robert B. Harmon, *Government and Politics in Maryland* (1990).
Whitman H. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790-1840* (1979).
Malcolm J. Rohrbaugh, *The Land Office Business* (1968).

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Key economic studies include the following:

Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (1925).
Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (1932).
Luther Porter Jackson, *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860* (1969).
Joanne Passmore, *History of the Delaware State Grange and the State's Agriculture, 1875-1975* (1975).
Glenn Porter, editor, *Regional Economic History of the Mid-Atlantic Area Since 1700* (1976).
John R. Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of Chesapeake Bay* (1981).

Useful analyses of regional scientific and technological developments in the period may be found in these works:

Albert Lowther Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (1941).
James D. Dilts, *The Great Road: The Building of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (1993).
Thomas F. Hahn, *The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal* (1984).
Brook Hindle, editor, *America's Wooden Age* (1975).
David A. Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800-1932* (1984).
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Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897* (1945).
George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (1951).

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J. Ritchie Garrison, et al., editors, *After Ratification* (1988).
Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (1968).
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Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic* (1997).
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Norris F. Schneider, *The National Road, Main Street of America* (1975).
Dell Upton, editor, *America's Architectural Roots* (1986a).
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James Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred* (1984).
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Isaac M. Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community* (1971).
Leroy Graham, *Baltimore: The Nineteenth-Century Black Capital* (1982).
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